the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[1]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Ezo Fūzoku Ian* 2: 1.

[P. 69(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

161 628 In considering the causes of this decrease, there are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

177 161 Then, there are now two and a half millions of Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so [262] suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is 161 too much blood-relationship among them, through in- [582] termarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good [165 deal of child mortality among them, and many of the 842] women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire. The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese [144 themselves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing 162] number now of half-breeds, and among those called

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

539 I will give you a smoke.' She was startled by the sudden appearance of the man and her heart throbbed. She took out her pipe and filled it herself from her own leather pouch and began to smoke. But she did not take any of his tobacco.*

"Nevertheless the man himself also smoked his own tobacco. When they had finished their pipes, the man again asked her for hers but she once more refused to give it to him. He then boldly reached over with his hand and seized it. He quickly filled it out of his pouch and offered it to her. But she would not take it. So he lighted it himself and forced her to take a whiff. No sooner had she drawn in the smoke than a great change took place. Up to that time she had been afraid of the young man, but after taking his tobacco she completely lost all her timidity and even allowed him to kiss her. She immediately fell in love with him. The man then helped her to dig up the tubers, so that very soon they filled the basket full. He asked her to become his wife and as she agreed they forthwith married.**

"The woman then went back to her home and the young man departed to the forest again. Upon reaching home the lady had something to eat, and then set to work preparing a feast.

"According to her own account, 'When I had finished my meal, I went up into the storehouse and took a basket full of *fritillaria* bulbs. With these I returned

[576] *According to Ainu etiquette in the north, every newly-come guest was expected to fill his host's pipe on entering the house, and the host afterward returned the compliment. The young man desired to be regarded as a guest and so offered to conform to the recognized customs. But the lady wished to be very proper and not become too familiar with him in this way, especially out of doors. Hence her refusal to accept a smoke from him.

[582] **A mere mutual agreement to marry among the Ainu constituted a marriage. No special ceremony was required.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXV

ON MARRIAGE

Although among the Ainu in olden times little children were sometimes betrothed to one another by their parents, the young men and women, as a rule, did their own courting freely, the marriage arrangements alone being left to the fathers and mothers of the ones affianced, and at all times both the young man and his choice had a final say in the matter. It was also thought as proper for a girl to propose to a young man as for a young man to "pop the question" himself. It was a continuous "Leap Year" with them. If the young man made the first proposal, he asked his father and mother to call upon the parents of his choice and try to arrange the marriage, but if it was the young woman who did the wooing, she would get her own father or mother to call upon the parents of her loved one. If all went well, the marriage took place, but, if the elders would not agree, the young people have been known to take the law into their own hands and walk off.

After a father had duly called on a friend and asked the hand of a daughter for his son in marriage, the following little ceremony took place between them, if all had gone well. The father of the bridegroom took a small sword which he placed in the hands of the bride's father, and said, "This sword is a pledge of betrothal; take it and worship. Do thou pray to the Goddess of Fire." Then, having received the sword, the bride's father would worship the Fire Goddess, offer libations of *saké* and say, "We have here and now

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

585 settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou Goddess of Fire, hear thou and be witness thereto. Keep this couple from sickness and harm; watch over them till they become old." The bridegroom's father then received the sword back, worshipped and drank libations in like manner. This done, the old people, having procured a good supply of *saké*, made a feast which they partook of with their friends and relations. This drink was called *mechiu saké*, i.e. matrimonial *saké*. The bride poured some into a cup and gave it to her *fiancé*, and he, after drinking a little, returned the cup to her to finish. The feast itself was called *mechiu marapto*, i.e. matrimonial feast. With this, the couple were man and wife. If they were to live with their [591] parents, well and good; if not, they would build themselves a small hut to dwell in, one which they might enlarge at any time they thought necessary.

583 591 If the young woman herself or her parents were the prime movers in the affair, the bridegroom was removed from his own family and took up his abode either in or close to the hut of his father-in-law; he was, in fact, adopted. But if the bridegroom did the wooing or his parents were the prime movers, the bride was adopted into his family. Or, if a woman of one village chose a man of another for her husband, he went to live with her, and if the man chose a woman who lived some distance away, she went to live with him. Persons who married in their own villages were called *sirisak*, blood relations, or brethren, but those who removed from their homes to be married into some distant family were called *siritak*, relations brought in, or distant relations.

582 585 The people considered their daughters to be marriageable at about sixteen or seventeen years of age. The men married when about nineteen or twenty. The youngest marriage I have yet seen among them took place when the bride's age was really as little as fifteen. At this feast there was nothing but a supply

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

et ashi. The bride's mother officiated. A few heirlooms were given the bridegroom and a few trinkets and beads to the bride. They were greatly delighted because I gave the bride a yen (about two shillings) as a wedding gift.

Owing to certain superstitions which have been mentioned in another place, the wife never took the husband's name, but retained her old one. When not called by her simple maiden name, she was generally called So-and-So's wife, so long as he was living, or So-and-So's mother, should she have a child. The general social position of the woman before her marriage was regarded as being equal to that of the man, but after that event she became subservient to her husband in all things excepting matters appertaining to the rule of the house. Of late years, however, everything has greatly changed and many matters are conducted more in accordance with Japanese customs.

Soon after marriage the bridegroom used to make a knife sheath, a spoon, a shuttle and a weaving loom, which he presented to his spouse. This was called *mat-eikara*, i.e. "making my wife." The bride then made a girdle, a pair of leggings, a necklace and a head-dress, which she presented to her husband. This was called *heku-eikara*, i.e. "making my husband." This ceremony appears to have been a kind of second pledging of the marriage vows, showing that they were satisfied with each other, and gave great satisfaction to both the parties concerned. A piece of lore given me on this was as follows:

"When a couple are newly married, the first thing to be done is for the bridegroom to give his bride a knife and sheath. In return for this the bride should give her husband a new cap. This is a very good custom and should be always carefully observed. So say the Ancient Ones."

It seems to have been an ancient custom sometimes to betroth children. But in such cases the persons so

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

858 582 betrothed were not absolutely bound to marry when the time came. Either of them could veto the decision of their elders. A very curious thing about this betrothal was that the boy and girl exchanged clothing and homes until the season for their union came round. Then, if the parents of the lad were the prime [591] movers in the proposal, the young lady remained at his home, but if otherwise, the bridegroom went to live with the bride's parents or at least in her village.

858 562 When children were betrothed quite young, the bride was brought to the home of the groom and reared with him. If she was younger than he, she was called *chireshke-mat*, i.e. "the female being brought up"; but if they were both of the same age and not very young, she was named *ukoreshke-mat*, i.e., "living-together-female," for they were practically husband and wife.

583 It was a custom among this people for the parents to bring a girl into the family whom they desired their son to marry, and see how he and she got on together. If they took to one another, well and good; if not, the young lady was returned whence she came. I saw this done twice in one family. Number One young lady was brought in for the elder son to become acquainted with, but no sooner did he find her in the house than he walked off and did not return till she had departed. I was sorry for this, for I had engaged him as my teacher of the Ainu language. Then Number Two was soon brought in. No sooner did he discover her than off he walked again and once more I lost my good teacher. But she also was soon packed off and he returned. It was a big disappointment to his parents, but after that they allowed him to make his own choice of a bride.

582 The people, I found, sometimes married their cousins and in some instances their nieces, and the men married a deceased brother's wife and became foster-fathers to the children. But there was a more remote relationship where union by marriage could not take

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *uare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the other. They admired one another's beauty and handsome form, helplessly. There they stood, eyeing each other with unbounded amazement and wondrous fascination. Instead of making way for Kutri to pass, as she, being a woman, ought to have done, Yai-mah stood in the middle of the path, rooted to the ground, and gazed at him as though mesmerized. Neither could pass the other. Though they saw one another now for the first time, yet they suddenly began to overflow with love for each other. Nay, as a loving sister, Yai-mah rushed to him and placed her head upon his shoulder. Kutri took her by the hand and they stepped to one side of the path and seated themselves side by side on a log. Long did they linger and lovingly did they sit and talk. Yea, till the evening shadows began to lengthen did they abide there in great contentment of heart. Then, as if waking from a beautiful dream, Kutri quietly gave Yai-mah his small knife and sheath as a pledge, and she, in return, affectionately handed him a piece of her own embroidery. Thus did they pledge one another their troth and then they each returned to their separate homes in joy and gladness.

But alas, Kutri found that there were grave objections to his marriage with Yai-mah. In the joy of his newly found love for her, he had quite forgotten that when a mere baby in arms, his father-chief had betrothed him to the infant daughter of a certain chief who lived in another village. The child's name was Ara-shik. This child had grown up to be as ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox. Moreover, as her name implies, she had but one good eye, for the other was very weak. Kutri had no love for her and had never wished the betrothal to be consummated. Had he not, indeed, many times declared before all that he would never marry her, come what might? But the two chiefs were as stones and would not soften. He

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

which are thick and bushy, are allowed to grow to full length, and they are never combed or brushed. Consequently an Aino at home presents a very uncouth appearance. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that most of them would be fine-looking men if they could be induced to bathe, comb their hair, and put on good clothes. Although ignorant and superstitious, they do not look like savages or barbarians. Their manners are gentle, their voices soft and pleasing.

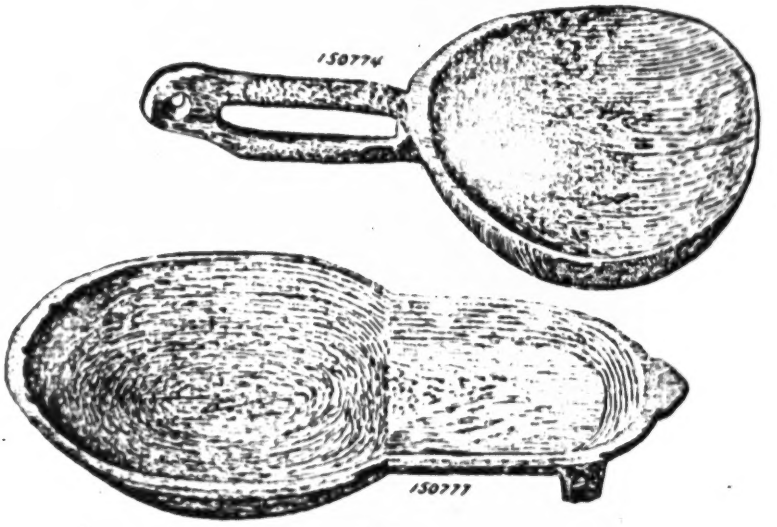

Fig. 68.

RICE-BOWL AND FISH-PLATE, TSUISHIKARI AINOS.

Good types are shown in Plates LXXXV–IX. The hairiness of the body is best shown in Plates LXXXVII–IX. The old man (Pl. LXXXIX) at the door of his house is covered with long hair on the breast and shoulders, which is much more conspicuous than appears in the photograph. The young women are often comely and attractive. The young girl (Pl. XC) is not devoid of the many feminine instincts of a coquettish society belle. But she was capable of making a good bargain for the work of her hands, as I found when I purchased some of her embroidery.

The Japanese in Yezo are quick to recognize the good qualities of Aino women, and many of them marry Aino wives. As the women grow older, they quickly lose the bloom of youth, becoming worn and wrinkled, no doubt from the exposure and hardship of their rough lives. Two good types from the northeast coast are represented in Plate XCI.

The faces of the women are disfigured by tattooing around the mouth, the style of which varies with the locality. Young maidens of six or seven have a little spot on the upper lip. As they grow older,

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

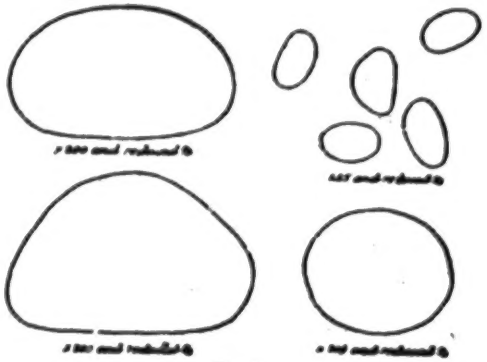

Fig. 70.

OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.
(From photographs.)

This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy.

I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog.

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey.

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage.

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight, to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents.

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age.

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent.

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region[1] are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

[1 i.e., the Tokachi River region --Analyst]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6·

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among the Ainu of the north-east coast of Yezo, and also among the Kurilsky Ainu of Shikotan, where nearly all the children have light hair. It darkens considerably as they grow older, as many of the men said they had light hair when young, which turned dark with age. Members of certain communities have inherited the love of bear-hunting; others the love of fishing; some tribes have a musical aptitude, and a certain artistic talent for rough ornamentations on wood; others have developed their inherited power of sustaining hunger and thirst. The only characteristic which all the different tribes have inherited, without exception, is love for intoxicating drinks; and this love is not only inherited by thoroughbred Ainu, but also by half-castes.

Mixed marriages between Japanese and Ainu are frequent, but the progeny are unfortunate beings, of whom a large percentage die when very young: those who live are generally malformed, ill-natured, and often idiotic. Their sight and hearing are not so acute as with the pure Ainu, and crosses are said to be sterile, with very few exceptions. If children of second crosses are born they seldom live to be more than five years old.

Half-breeds are invariably from a Japanese man with an Ainu woman, but occasionally an Ainu man marries or cohabits with a half-caste woman. I have never seen a pure-blood Ainu man marry a pure-blood Japanese woman. The majority of half-breeds are males: I should think two-thirds males and one-third females. The half-caste women are physically finer than the men, but they are said to be very generally, if not uniformly, sterile.

The products of the first cross greatly resemble in general look the Ainu parent, without being quite as hairy, though still very hairy; but a strange peculiarity is, that they get bald while quite young. One can easily detect them by their eyes, which are frequently like those of the Japanese, by the wide flat forehead, and by the pose of the head, which inclines orward. They generally walk with their toes turned in, instead of keeping their feet perfectly straight, like the pure Ainu. The moral and intellectual position of these half-breeds is a pitiful one. They are rejected by both the Ainu and Japanese, and are held inferior to both alike.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

everything, whether she is right or wrong; she is occasionally beaten; she never takes active part in any of her husband's Bacchanalian revels; but though she leads a sad kind of life, a life of hard work and no pleasure, she does not seem to be any the worse for it. There are wives, of course, who, as in other countries, give a "pretty rough time" to their husbands; but in the Ainu country these are certainly the exception. As there is no ceremony of marriage, there is naturally no "divorce;" but if an Ainu gets sick of his wife, all he has to do is to leave her and go elsewhere, or else to banish her from his hut. This, however, very seldom happens, for that rare creature the henpecked Ainu husband is willing to put up with a lot; and though brave enough to encounter single-handed a bear, the hairy man is by no means valiant enough to face his wife's temper; while, for all that she is practically a slave, and personally an inferior, is sometimes in Ainuland, as everywhere else, the strongest factor in the domestic sum.

As long as the wife does her duty well as a "beast of burden," little more is required from her. Her morals, as far as I could make out, are not well looked after. Adultery is not considered a crime. I do not mean by this that adultery is practised on principle, for it is not so: there is no reason whatever why it should be, for each man has his own wife or wives; but if adultery were practised by any members of a community, what we consider a dreadful crime would be regarded as a mere "joke" among the hairy people. The husband, like any other animal, dumb or not, would naturally resent the intrusion, but the community would in no way interfere, or punish the offender. A girl is considered fit to be married when she is about sixteen years of age; a man about twenty, or as soon as the body is fully developed.

People as a rule marry in the same village. It is but seldom that a girl marries a man or a man a girl of a different village. Villages, as we have seen, are generally composed of only a few houses, and the result of this strict endogamy is, that marriages take place among very near relations. In very small villages of only one or two houses, the father has been known to marry his own daughter, the uncle his own niece, &c. But enough of this. The result of this dreadful state of affairs is, that the race is rapidly dying

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) *"Woman's treasure."* Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

(5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

(6) *Ancestor worship (shinnurappa).* When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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612 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate
601 this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then,
[582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single
184 expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group
601 (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was
614 undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing
602 their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was
602 not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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114 [122] on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manuscript. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them, and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934 that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matrilineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their use in regulating exogamy.

292 114 789 [611] [582]

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 115 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to rear the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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a tidal wave or a conflagration and repel the *kamui* of smallpox.[1]

No woman may marry a man whose mother has the same type of *kut* as herself. This was confirmed by further investigation, both by Munro himself and later by Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura. (See *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 187.)

Munro discovered five more types, respectively associated with Korokeu Kamui, the wolf; Chironup Kamui or Shitumbe Kamui, fox; Kapachiri Kamui, eagle; Moyuk, badger or racoon, and Isepo Kamui, hare, the members of which were said to be protected from the occurrence of hare lip.[2] In one letter Munro mentioned a girdle associated with Kamui Fuchi, and two of the girdles he collected are labelled 'attributed to Kamui Fuchi'. However, as all women believe themselves to be allied to the fire goddess, who gave instructions for the making of the girdles, the possibility of these specimens being associated with theriomorphic *kamui* as well as Kamui Fuchi is not excluded. In prayer to Kamui Fuchi petitioners describe themselves as her grandchildren, and Munro frequently refers to her as 'the Great Ancestress, supreme over the ancestral cult'. She is invoked by elders before any other *kamui* is approached, and her special backward-shaven *inau* are given her on all ceremonial occasions. The hearth is sacred to her and is her resting place in every home. She is revered as a 'weighty' *kamui*—perhaps the most important of all—but it is not clear that she is regarded by men as the ancestress of all Ainu in their ancestral cult.

The wearer of the Rep-un Kamui (grampus) *kut*, a woman of about 85 years old, told Munro that the younger sister of the grampus *kamui* married an Ainu, and she regarded her as an ancestress. It should be noted that all *kamui* associated with the *upshoro-kut* are members of the Ainu pantheon as well as being specific to certain matrilineal kin groups, and all except Kamui Fuchi and Wakka-ush Kamui, the deities of fire and of fresh water,

[1] When Munro's house was burnt down he did not know of the power that women were able to exercise by means of their *kut*, but he noticed that a group of women about fifty yards away stood waving their arms—presumably driving away the fire by means of the power they exercised on account of their *kut*.

[2] Members of the Isepo *kut* lineage are said to be of lower status than the other *kut*. A legend states that a young hunter saw a beautiful maiden weaving a cord in the forest. She was overcome by shame at being seen by a man while performing her secret task. She was obliged to marry him to hide her shame, and she became Isepo Kamui.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

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33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother.

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship.
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4]

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of

[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing.

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context.

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

611

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Mr Ken-ichi Sugiura show that these four generations of common descent, including the speaker, form part of an important social group:

[61] *Ir-matainu:* the female uterine descendants of one woman for four descending generations.

Ir-matainu esap utar: male uterine descendants of the same woman for four generations.

Matikir esap utar: a group composed of the males and females descended in the uterine line from one woman for four generations. Within this group marriage is prohibited.

611 Munro has noted the bond of *kut* kinship in the Shinurapa ceremony and in burial customs (Chapters VIII and XI). Mr Sugiura has recorded the case of a girl who married a man in a distant village. The only member of her *huchi-ikir* in her husband's village is her uterine great-grandmother's sister's uterine great-granddaughter. These two women assist one another in all crises—in childbirth, illness, funerals, etc.—and discuss together matters which otherwise would be secret.[1] Mr Sugiura also notes that a woman's first child is usually born in her parents' house, presumably so that she may be attended by a woman of her own *huchi-ikir*.

582 [602] [844]

604 582 Munro states that the mother's brother has more voice in the selection of a husband for his sister's daughter than the girl's own father, but he could not hear of any special privilege or duties existing between a man and his sister's son.

611 614 The above information points to the existence of an exogamous group limited to four generations from one woman in matrilineal descent. The kinship ties are important for women within this group but are ignored by men. Although Mr Sugiura names a group—*matikir esap utar*—within which marriage is forbidden, he does not record any evidence that this is recognized by men as a corporate group within which any religious rites, duties or privi-

[1] Through the kindness of Professor John Barnes I have seen a complete translation of Mr Sugiura's article in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology*. In it is a genealogy of the two women mentioned above. Their matrilineal great-grandmothers were sisters, but the names of the parents of these sisters are not given, and the names of their brother and of the husbands of the two ancestresses were unknown. Thus, Mr Sugiura supports Munro's evidence that women trace their matrilineal descent only three generations back. It must also be noted that *matikir esap utar* is not a bilateral kindred group. The only males included in it are the brothers and the sons of the female members, not the male and female offspring of brothers and sons, as in a kindred group.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*poa machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

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5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

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[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male householeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan (or utaru) spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details

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621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[582] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

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that were believed to live there and look after them (pp. 70-71; 77-78). The river group appears to have observed collective rituals against catastrophic natural phenomena but any collective actions in normal times by the group as a whole could not be identified by the present writer.

Marriage and Intermarriage.

The most notable of the Ainu habits concerning marriage might be the avoidance of coupling of the matrilineally related. Women of common descent through female line from an ancestress were called *shine huchi ikiru*, one and the same ancestress descent, who regarded themselves as female relatives, *menoko iriwaki*, to one another. The *huchi ikiru* kinship, however, could not usually be traced at most beyond a depth of three or four generations[19]. The implication of the advoidance is that men should not marry women of the same *huchi ikiru* as their mothers[20].

It might be said that women related by *huchi ikiru* kinship constituted a kin group; however, the present writer has found no reason to regard them as a corporate kin group. They had no single authority. They did not hold any common property and never came together to carry out any collective enterprise organized on the level of a *huchi ikiru* group as a whole.

It is true that women who assisted a woman in marriage, childbirth, illness and death, were her *huchi ikiru* relatives[21]. These activities of mutual help seems to have been based on the person-to-person relation of *huchi ikiru* kinship.

To what extent intermarriage was practised is only partly known[22]. The present writer was able to identify premarrital and postmarrital residences of the married persons who lived in six of seven local groups which formed a *shine itokpa* group on the upper Tokapchi at ca. 1880-85 (Table 2; Genealogical Charts 1-6), and obtained the following result.

1) Marriage between the members of the same local group 15
2) Wife married to live with her husband in the local group where he was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of her husband 12
   B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of her husband:
      a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as her husband's 3
         (2 from Perutnai, 1 from Memroputu)
3) Husband married to live with his wife in the local group where his wife was born:
   A) From one of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group of his wife 3

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B) From outside the *shine itokpa* group of his wife:
   a) From one of the member local groups of the same river group as his wife's 1
      (from Memroputu)
   b) From other river group than his wife's 3
      (from Asahikawa in Ishikari)

In the *shine itokpa* group in the Satnai valley at ca. 1880-85, which consisted of 3 local groups with 16 households and formed a single river group itself, the proportion of the number of wives who married in from outside the *shine itokpa* group to the number of wives who were born and married inside the group seems to have been much greater than that in the *shine itokpa* group in the Tokapchi valley which was previously stated. The details will be given in Notes 23-24 on the following genealogical charts. [184]

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obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69).

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3).

(20) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands.

(21) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru

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611 valley. The only woman of her *huchi ikiru* in her husband's *kotan* has been
602 her mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, Hatu. Teki became intimate with her after this woman came to marry in the *kotan*. Since then, Teki has been assisted by Hatu in childbirth and illness and has counseled with her in such private matters as would be secret to other persons (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 206).

582 631 (22) Intermarriage and "basho" or district system.—On the evidence of an old document from a trading post, TAKAKURA points out a custom among the Ainu formerly of aversion against marriages between people of different "basho" or districts (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 336; for "basho" see Note 6).

The area occupied by the four river groups of Shipet, Otopuke, Satnai and Tushipet living on the main and tributary waters of the Tokapchi river system and walled on three sides by the great divide of Hokkaido and its branches, constituted the Tokapchi "Basho". Among the Ainu on the upper Tokapchi, the Satnai and the Otopuke at least, as described in the text, there seems to have been a strong tendency to intermarriage within the area, i.e. the Tokapchi Basho, which appears to be in agreement with TAKAKURA's account. It is questionable, however, whether or not the sphere of intermarriage always corresponded in extent with the "basho" as in the case of Tokapchi. It is not known on what basis and in what manner the demarcating line of a "basho" was drawn; but it is informed that "it seems to have been based on the boundary of the headman's sphere of influence, that is, the boundary of the hunting and fishing grounds of the "ujizoku" (clan) or "buzoku" (tribe) concerned" (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 105).

614 582 HABARA (1939, p. 131), TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 55) and NATORI (1945, p. 123) have come to one and the same conclusion that the Ainu formerly practised endogamy within the group of patrilineal kinsfolk. It is called "ujizoku" (clan) by HABARA (1939, p. 131) as well as TAKAKURA (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, pp. 55 and 57); however, the Ainu term for it is unknown. HABARA gives no definition of his term "ujizoku", stating merely that it is divided into one to several sections each belonging to a *kotan* (HABARA, 1939, p. 209). TAKAKURA's definition of the "ujizoku" (clan) is given in the following statement: "the clan the member of which believe themselves to have branched from a common male ancestor, *ekashimoto*, have a common family mark, *itokpa*, and a cult of a common principal deity, *pase-onkami*" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944b, p. 57). In this description, the relationship of the 'clan' with the territorial group remains unexplained; however, it is suggested in his statement quoted in Note 17. There he points out that the 'clan' seems to have been the basis on which the sphere of intermarriage among the Ainu was determined (ibid., p. 57). NATORI makes another

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important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19.

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley.

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the househead (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent.

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.